Circuit Court to the Supreme Court.

TERRE-HAUTE, INDIANA, APRIL 4, 1860,

VOL. XIX. NO. 18

A Great Speech. LINCOLN IN NEW YORK.

(From the New York Tribune, Feb. 29th.) The Hon. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinuis, the great antagonist of Senator Douglas, Ordinance of 87, including the prohibition much reason to believe that their under gare last evening, in the Cooper Institute, a lecture on National Politics. Although there was an admission fee for the benefit then a Member of the House of Representation and with this, so far as I know ar believe, Surely, this does not encourage them to To show all this, is easy and certain .of the Plymouth Church course of lectures, tives from Pennsylvania. It went through rigidly to the text, I have purposely omit they will be content. the seats of the great hall were nearly all all its stages without a word of opposition, tilled, and a large number of people preferred standing to sitting in the rear seats. Upon the platform were Ex Gov. John A King, David Dudley Field, Wm. C. Bry sat, Gen James W. Nye, Alms-House Gov John Langdon, Thos. Fitzsimmons. ernors Isaac J. Oliver and Washington Nicholas Gilman, William Few Smith, E. Delafield Smith, Dr. S. Louis berry, A. J. Dittenhoeffer, E-q., Judge E. D. Culver, Theodore Tilt o, Thomas B. George Clymet, Stillman, Samuel Sinclair, J S Gibbons; in fine, it was crowded with distinguished Republicans. A considerable number of no line dividing local from Federal authori tadies graced the occasion by their pres ty, nor anything in the Constitution, proper-

by David Dudley Field and Wm. C. Bryant, port the Constitution, would have conamid loud and prolonged applause. Mr.

say Aye. [General and thundrous "aye."

an eminent citizen of the West whom you know, or whom you have known hitherto only by fame, but who has consented to address a New York assemblage this eve ning. The Great West, my friends, is a potent auxiliary in the battle we are fight occupation of some of the fairest regions of our continent, on which the settlers are now building their cabins. I say a higher and a wiser agency than that of man in the causes that have filled with a hardy population the vast and fertile region which forms the western part of the Valley of the Mississippi, a race of men who are not shames to till their acres with their own hands, and who would be ashamed to subsiat by the labor of the slave. [Cheers.] -These children of the West, my friends, form a living bulwark against the advance of slavery, and from them is recruited the

lant soldier of the political campaign of the Republican cause, and who has since been the champion of that cause in the struggle which took piace two years later for the supremacy in the Legislature of Illinois, who took the field then against the victory but for the unjust apportionment law of the State, which allowed a minority of the people to elect a majority of the Legislature. I have only, my friends, to announce the name of Ab aham Lincoln to pronounce his name, to secure your profoundest attention. [Continued applause, and "Three cheers for Abraham Lincoln."

Mr. Lincoln then, after prolonged ap-

The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor shall make of them. If there shall be any First-The novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation.

THE QUESTION DEFINED. In his speech last Automn, at Colum

Senator Douglas said:

"Our fathers, when they framed the Gov- cases being a fine upon the violator of the ried to maturity at the same time, are ab ernment under which we live, understood law, and freedom to the slave. this question just as well, and even better, This act also was passed without Year I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a

text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: "What was the under- in their understanding, it violated either standing those fathers had of the question the line properly dividing local from Fedementioned?" What is the frame of Gov. ral authority or any provision of the Cosernwest under which we live? The answer stitution. must be: "The Constitution of the United in 1819 20, came, and passed, the Mis-States." That Constitution consists of the souri question Many votes were taken by original, framed in 1787 ; and under which | Yeas and Nays, in both branches of Conthe present Government first went into gress, upon the various phases of the gen operation), and twelve subsequently fram eral question. Two of the "thirty-nine"framed in 1789. Who were our fathers members of that Congress. Mr. King that framed the Constitution? I suppose steadily voted for slavery prohibition, and the "thirty nine" who signed the original against all compromises. By this Mr instrument may be fairly called our fathers King showed that, in his understanding, who framed that part of the present Gor | no line dividing local from Federal authorthey framed it, and it is altogether true to violated by Congress prohibiting Slavery say they fairly represented the opinion and in Federal Territory; while Mr. Pinckney, sentiment of the whole nation at that time. by his votes, showed that in his under Their names being familiar to nearly all, standing there was some sufficient reason and accessible to quite all, need not now | for opposing such prohibition in that case. be repeated. I take these "thirty-nine," summary or the FACTS-CONCLUSION TREES. for the present, as being "our fathers who framed the Government under which we

ing it, and while the Northwestern Terri- done so because they thought a proper di- the Government under which we live," not designate the man and prove the fact will show that the right of property in a tory still was the only territory owned by vision of local from federal authority, or used and applied principles, in other case. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable slave is not distinctly and expressly affirm-

tion; and hence it is not recorded that the slavery in the Federal Territory. hirty nine," or any of them, while engag- The remaining sixteen of the stitution, an act was passed to enforce the in the Federal territories. But there is of slavery in the Northwestern Territory .- standing open that question would not hoframed the original Constitution -

Wm. S. Johnson, Abraham Baldwin Roger Sherman, Rufus King. Willian Patterson, Richard Basset. Pierce Butler, James Madison, This shows that, in their understanding.

Mr. Lincoln was escurted into the room to correct principle, and their oath to sup-Mr. Bryant, on taking the chair, said: to the Federal Government the country now framed the original Constitution; and the My friends, it is a grateful office that I constituting the State of Tennessee; and a text affirms that they understood the perform to introducing to you at this time few years later Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi and Alabama. In both deeds of cession it was made a condition by the ceding States that the Federal Government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country. Beside this, slavery was then actually in the ceded ing for Freedom against Slavery; in behalf country. Under these circumstances, Conof civilization against barbarism; for the gress, on taking charge of these countries. did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them. But they did interfere with it-take control of it-even there, to a certain extent. In 1798, Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory, from any place without the United States, by fine, and giving freedom

gress without Yeas and Navs. In that Congress were three of the "thirty-nine" who framed the original Constitution.-They were, John Langdon, George Reed, and Abraham Baldwin. They all, probvanguard of the armies of Liberty. [Ap and Abraham Baldwin. They all, probplance.] One of them will appear before ably, voted for it. Certainly they would you this evening. I present to you a gat have placed their opposition to it upon last soldier of the relitical campaign of record, if, in their understanding, any line 1856, who then rendered good service to dividing local from Federal anthority, or anything in the Constitution, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory. In 1803 the Federal Government purchased the Louisiana country. Our former territorial Douglas, and who would have then won acquisitions came from certain of our States; from a foreign nation. In 1804' Congress gave a Territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that of Illinois-[loud cheering]-I have only part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the people. Congress did not, in the Territorial act, probibit slavery; but they did

This act passed both branches of Con-

to slaves so brought.

First-That no slave should be imported isto the Territory from foreign parts. Second - That no slave should be car-

bus, Ohio, as reported in the N. Y. Times, into it, except by the owner, and for his this day to affirm that the two things which own use as a settler-the penalty in all that Congress deliberately framed, and car-

Nays. In the Congress which passed it, pudently absurd when coupled with the there were two of the "thirty nine" They other affirmation, from the same mouth, were Abraham Baldwin and Jonathan that those who did the two things alleged Dayton. As stated in the case of Missis. to be inconsistent understood whether they sippi, it is probable they both voted for it. really were inconsistent, better than we-They would not have allowed it to pass better than he who affirms that they are inwithout recording their opposition to it, if, consistent? in their understanding, it violated either

The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the "thirty-nine," or any of them, upon the direct issue, which I have been What is the question which, according to able to discover. To enumerate the perthe text, those fathers understood just as sons who thus acted, as being four in 1784 well, and even better than we do now? It three in 1787, seventeen in 1789, three in in this: Does the proper division of local 1798, two in 1804, and two in 1819-20- men within the century in which it was from Federal authority, or anything in the there would be thirty one of them. But this framed, among whom to search, and they Constitution, forbid our Federal Govern | would be counting John Langdon, Roger | shall not be able to find the evidence of a ment to control as to Slavery in our Fed Sherman, William Few, Rufus King and single man agreeing with them. ers understood better than we. Let us than we, is twenty three, leaving wixteen july in whatever our fathers did To do so wno water the stavent question prownow inquire whether the "thirty-nine" or not shown to have acted upon it in any would be to discard all the lights of curany of them, ever acted upon this ques way. Here then, we have twenty three of rent experience-to reject all progress-all tion; and if they did, how they acted upon our "thirty nine" fathers who framed the improvement. What I do say is, that if we it-how they expressed that better under Government under which we live, who would supplant the opinions and policy have, upon their official responsibility of our fathers in any case, we should do so and their corporal oaths, acted upon the upon eridence so conclusive, and argument In 1784 three years before the Constitut very question which the text affirms they so clear, that even their great authority, tion—the United States then owning the "understood just as well, and even better, fairly considered and weighed, cannot Northwestern Territory, and no other—the than we do now; and twenty one of them stand; and most surely not in a case where Congress of the Confederation had before —a clear majority of the whole "thirty of we ourselves declare they understood them the question of prohibiting slavery in nine-so acting upon it as to make them the question better than we. If any man, that Territory; and four of the thirty nine" guilty of gross political impropriety, and at this day, sincerely belives that a proper who afterward framed the Constitution were wilful perjury, it, in their understanding, division of local from Federal authority, in that Congress, and voted on that ques-tion. Of these, Roger Sherman. Thomas and federal authority, or anything in the Federal Government to control as to Sla-Mifflin and Hugh Williamson voted for the constitution they had made themselves, very in the Federal Government, he is right prohibition-thus showing that, in their and sworn to support, forbade the federal to say so, and enforce his position by all cepts and policy of the old times understanding, no line dividing local from government no control as to slavery in the truthful evidence and fair argument which Federal authority, nor anything else, pro federal territories. Thus the twenty one he can. But he has no right to mislead perly forbade the Federal Government to acted; and as actions speak louder than others, who have less access to history and control as to slavery in Federal Territory words, so sentons under such responsibili less leisure to study it, into the false be is your prooff "Harper's Ferry! John avowed supporters disagree with one

"thirty-nine." Thomas Fitzsimmons, twenty-three compeers, had it been manited whatever understanding may have been and finally passed both branches without manifested, by any person, however disyeas and nays, which is equivalent to a tinguished, other than the thirty nine fa unanimous passage. In this Congress there there who framed the original Constitution were sixteen of the "thirty nine" fathers and, for the same reason, I have also ometted whatever misunderstanding may have been manifested by any of the "thirty nine" even, on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave trade, and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of Federal control of slavery in Pederal Territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty three did Among that sixteen were several of the most unted ly forbade Congress to prohibit slavery in anti-slavery men of those times -as Dr the Federal territory; else bath their fidelity Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and Gov anti siavery men of those times-as Dr ernor Morris-while there was not one not known to be otherwise, nuless it may be strained them to oppose the prohibition .- John Rutledge of South Carolina. The Again, George Washington, another of the sum of the whole is, that of our "thirtythirty-nine," was then President of the vine fathers who framed the original Con FELLOW REPUBLICANS: I beg leave to United States, and, as such, approved and stitution, twenty-one-a clear majority of nominate as Chairman of this meeting a signed the bill, thus completing its validity the whole-certainly understood that no Republican whom you all know well- as a law, and thus showing that, in his un proper division of local from Federal au-William Cullen Bryant. [Cheers.] Those derstanding, no line dividing local from thornty, nor any part of the Constitution, of you who are in favor of Mr. Bryant will Federal authority, nor anything in the Con- forbade the Federal Government to constitution, forbade the Federal Government trol slavery in the Federal Ferritories, No. [Silence] There is no No [Laugh No great while after the adaption of the understanding. Such, unquestionably. No great while after the adaption of the understanding. Such, unquestionably. original Constitution, North Carolina ceded was the understanding of our fathers who

question better than we.

Territory. Not only was it the same Congress, but they were the identical, same inand at the same time within the session, eration, had under consideration, and in progress toward maturity, these Constitutional amendments and this act prohibiting Slavery in all the Territory the nation then owned. The Constitutional amendments were introduced before and passed after the act enforcing the Ordinance of '87; so ritorial act, prohibit slavery; but they did the act enforcing the Ordinance of 87; so the United States, approved and signed an interfere with it—take control of it—in a that during the whole pendency of the act act of Congress, enforcing the prohibition Mr. President and fellow citizens of N. York: more marked and extensive way than they to enforce the Ordinance, the Constitutional amendments were also pending. That did in the of Mississippi. The substance of the provision therein made, in relation to Congress, consisting in all of seventy six members, including sixteen of the framers of the original Constitution, as before staled, were pre emmently our fathers who framed that part of the Government under ried into it who had been imported into which we live, which is now claimed as the United States since the first day of May forbidding the Federal Government to control Slavery in the Federal Territories. Is Third-That so slave spould be carried it not a little presumptuous in any one at solutely inconsistent with each other ?-And does not such affirmation become im-

It is surely safe to assume that the "thirty nine" framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy six members of the Congress which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live." And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever in his whole life declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of lo-cal from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to Slavery in the Fed. eral Territotries. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the world ever did, prior to the begining of the present century, (and I might al most say prior to the begining of the last half of the present century.) deplare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to controll as to Slavery in the Federal Territories. To those who now so declare, I give, not only "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live," but with them all other living

cil on that instrument, expressed any opin on that precise question. In 1789, by no record of their understanding upon the to be extended, but to be tolerated and prothe first Congress which sat under the Con direct question of Federal control of slavery tected only because of and so far as its ac- charge w sa slander, and he was not much bor. Also, it would be open to show, by of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. — standing upon that question would not the guaranties those fathers gave it, be not accompared with a continual, protest speaking of them, was employed on pur against a y interference whatever with your pose to excluded from the Constitution the

A FEW WORDS TO THE SOUTH. But, so far, I have been considering the and yet are you willing to abide by it? life of a favorite master or mistress, would understanding of the question manifested If you are, you will probably soon find divulge it. This is the rule; and the revoluby the framers of the original Constitution that we have ceased to be sectional, for tion in Hayti was not an exception to it, but In, and by the original instrument, a mode we shall get votes in your section this a case occurring under peculiar circum- uy, one with another. Let us Republi have already stated, the present frame of cover, as the truth plainly is, that your history, though not connected with slaves Government under which we live consists proof does not touch the issue The fact was more in point. In that case, only of that original, and twelve amendatory ar | that we get no votes in your section, is a about twenty were admitted to the secret; ticles formed and adopted since. Those fact of your making, and not of ours. And and yet one of them, in his anxiety to save much as listen to us, let us calmly considwho now insist that Federal control of sla. if there be a fault in that fact that fault is a friend, betrayed the plot to that friend, very in Federal Territories violates the primarily yours, and remains so until you and, by consequence, averted the calamity. Constitution, point us to the provisions show that we repel you by some wrong Occasional poisonings from the kitchen, bly can Judging by all they say and do, history is written all over it, but the hier which they suppose it thus violetes; and, principle or practice. If we do repel you and open or stealthy assassinations in the and by the subject and nature of their constructions in the and by the subject and nature of their constructions in the suppose it thus violetes; and, principle or practice, the field, and local revolts extending to a score troversy with us, let us determine, if we in the original instrument. The Supreme you ought to have started-to a discussion results of Slavery; but no general insurrec- satisfied if the Territories be uncondition mute language of the past-the silent for-Court, in the Dred Scott case, plant them- of the right or wrong of our principle. If tion of slaves, as I think, can happen in this will not be be sort case, plant them- of the right or wrong of our principle. If the market of the days of old. The market of the days of old. selves upon the fifth amendment, which our principle, put in practice, would wrong country for a long time. Whowever much will not. In all their present complaints culiar adherents plant themselves upon the opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, still in our power to direct the process of in the future, we have nothing to do with are reserved to the States respectively, and section; and so meet it as if it were possi will wear off insensibly and their places be, to the people," Now, it so happens that ble that something may be said on our side. passi passu, filled up by free white laborers. these amendments were framed by the first Do you accept the callenge? No? Then If, on the contrary, it is left to force it abstaining does not exempt us from the Congress which sat under the Constitution you really believe that the principle which self on, human nature must shudder at charge and the denunciations, The ques--the identical Congress which passed the our fathers who framed the Government the prospect held up." Mr. Jefferson did tion recurs, what will satisfy them? Sim. This is a glorious conception of this cele-

> WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of of slavery in the Northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of the Gov ernment upon that subject, up to and at the very moment he penned that warning: and about one year after he penned it he wrote to La Fayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expresswe should some time have a confederacy of free States. Bearing this ju mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen weapon in your hands against us, or in our that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his respect that warning of Washington, and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application

WHO ARE THE CONSERVATIVES?

But you say you are conservative-emi-policy of the fathers. Some of you are for reviving the foreign slave trade; some for

Diffe bad and PERST ? Again, you say we have made the six very question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that is more prominent, but we deny that we discarded the old policy of the fathers .-We resisted, and still resist, your innovavation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its former What has been will be again, under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, re adopt the pre-

Construction before the control of the property of the property of the party of the

but does it prove the issue? If it does, affection of slaves for their masters and mis- threat of destruction to the Union, to exprinciple, begin to get votes in your sec. A plot for an uprising could scarcely be ed in principle. tion, we should thereby cease to be sec- devised and communicated to twenty inditional. You cannot escape this conclusion, viduals before some one of them, to save the act already mentioned, enforcing the pro under which we live, thought so clearly not mean to say, nor do I, that the power ply this: We must not only let them alone, brated American lady artist. It is a full ibition of Slavery in the North-Western right as to adopt it, and indorse it again of emancipation is in the Federal Govern- but must, somehow, convince them that we and again, upon their official oaths, is, in ment. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to do let them alone. This, we know by

> Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces slave insurrection shall never occur on any pose to let them alone; but this has had no Her face reposes upon her beautifully the warning against sectional parties given American soil which is now free from Sla- tendency to convince them. Alike and moulded arm, and it seems to sink quietly John Brown's efforts was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolu among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd, that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed .-That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attemps, related in history, at the assassination of kings and empering in the same connection his hope that ors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people, till he fancies him-self commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which upon this same subject, is that warning a ends in little less than in his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, hands against you? Could Washington and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferhimself speak, would be cast the blame of ry, were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old policy, or upon you, who repudiate it? We England in the one case, and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things. And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Helper's book, and the like, break up the Republican organi zation? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be nently conservative-while we are revolu | changed. There is a judgment and a feeladherence to the old and tried against the You cannot destroy that judgment and manded the overthrow of our Free State most seems to pulsate with warm life. new and untried? We stick to, contend feeling-that sentiment-by breaking up Constitutions. Yet those Constitutions defor, the identical old policy on the point in the political organization which rallies clare the wrong of slavery, with more solfor the identical old policy on the point in the political organization which rathes controversy which was adopted by our around it. You can scarcely scatter and emn emphasis, than do all other sayings of att. The form is faultless, the face is ing a free city. Their patriotism never fathers who framed the Government under disperse an army which has been formed against it; and when all these other say almost divine, but the head is the round reaches north of Mason & Dixon's line, which we live; while you with one accord into order in the face of your heaviest fire; ings shall have been silenced, the over

ries; some for Congress forbidding the Ter than shomit to a denial of your Constitu- cease to demand a full national recogniritories to prohibit slavery within their tional rights. That has a somewhat reck tion of if, as a local right, and a social bless piece is woven in the mythology of the Southerners themselves; a thing that limits; some for maintaining slavery in the less sound; but it would be palliated, if ing. Constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. When I say the, decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided Court by a bare mejori-ABOUT INSURRECTION AND JOHN BROWN. It of the Judges, and they not quite agree-You charge that we sair up insurrections ing with one another in the reasons for among your slaves. We deny it; and what making it; that it is so made as that its The other of the four—James McHenry—
voted against the prohibition, showing that for some cause, he thought it improper to rote for it.

In 1787, still before the Constitution, but while the Convention was in session fram while the Convention was in session fram while the Convention was in session fram and the convention of the constitution of the constitution of the convention of the constitution of the cons the United States, the same question of prohibiting slavery in the Territory again came
before the Congress of the Confederation;
and three more of the "thirty-nine" who aflerward signed the Constitution, were in the Constitution of the Constitution

tion to Slavery. As those fathers marked elections came, and your expectations were ter's legal right in relation to him is allo tual presence among us makes that tolera- inclined / it to cast his vote in your favor. cotemporaneous history, that this mode of tion and protection a necessity. Let all Republic a doctrines and declarations are alluding to slaves and slavery, instead of tained. For this Republicans contend, slaves, or with you about your slaves - ices that there could be property in man. revolt. True, we do in common with our When this obvious mistake of the Judges of St. Louis, is the Mercantile Library Asfathers who framed the Government under shall be brought to their notice, is it not which we live, declare our belief that Slave | reasonable to expect that they will with And now if they would listen—as I suppose they will not—I would address a few words to the Southern people. I would do, the slaves would searcely know there is say to them: You consider yourselves a Republican party. I believe they would reasonable and just people; and I consider not, in fact, generally know it but for your which we live"—the men who made the that in the general qualities of reason and misrepresentations of us, in their hearing. ple. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to lenounce us as thy with Black Republicanism; and then to reptiles, or at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to " blood and thunder among the slaves. Slave as my evidence is left, without basing it of the Library, is a sculptured slab of mar-Black Republicans "In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of "Black Republicanism" as the first thing to be at insurrection, twenty-eight years ago, in Government, unless such a court dession as cavated chambers of the palace of Nimquite just to us, or even to yourselves?- do not think a general, or even a very ex of having destroyed it will be upon us - Bring forward your charges and specifica- tensive slave insurrection, is possible. The That is coal. A highwayman holds a pistol sectional. We deny it. That makes an rapid communication; nor can incendiary and then you will be a murderer." To be section The fact is substantially true; Much is said by Southern people about the death to me, to extert my money, and the

though the Southern people will not so fact, so clearly wrong as to demand your the power of emancipation, I speak of the experience, is no easy task. We have been ble. She is sleeping upon a couch, seeming dividual men who, at the same session, condemnation without a moment's consid slaveholding States only. The Federal so trying to convince them, from the very in an unhappy slumber. The very pillow Government, however, as we insist has the begining of our organization, but with no power, of restraining the extension of the success. In all our platforms and speech institution-the power to insure that a es, we have constantly protested our pur pears soft beneath the gentle pressure .and this only; cease to call slavery wrong. erated-we must place ourselves avowedly

with them. Douglas's new sedition law must in politics, in preses, in pulpits, or in private We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must from all taint of opposition to Slavery'before they will sease to believe that all their

would probably say to us. "Let us alone, do nothing to us, and say what you please -have never disturbed them -- so that, af ter all, it is what we say, which dissatisfi es them. They will continue to accuse us reject, and scout, and spit upon that old but if you could, how much would you throw of these Constitutions will be depolicy, and insist upon substituting some. gain by forcing the sentiment which crea manded, and nothing be left to resist the world's ex-

e. You have considerable variety of new What would that other channel probably do not demand the whole of this just now propositions and plans, but you are unan- be? Would the number of John Brown's Demanding what they do, and for the reamous in rejecting and denouncing the old be lessened or enlarged by the operation? son they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding as they do, that slavery is morally a Congressional slave code for the Territo- But you will break up the Union, rather right, and socially elevating, they cannot

Territories through the Judiciary; some for not fully justified, were we proposing, by Nor can we justified this, on Ida, was married to Paris, the son of Prithe "gur-reat pur-in-ciple" that "if one the mere force of numbers, to deprive you man would ensiave another, no third man of some right, plainly written down in the should ebject," fantastically called "Pop Constitution. But we are proposing no ular Sovereignty;" but never a man among such thing. When you make these device, and any ground save our conviction that sla was married to the North, much more than to the injury and the North, much more than to the injury of the South; a matter that would be a words, acts, laws, and Constitutions against the gift of prophecy, she warned her has ular Sovereignty;" but never a man among such thing. When you make these device, and well and against his contemplated visit to lamity to the North; a movement which you in favor of Federal prohibition of sla- clarations, you have a specific and well- lenced, and swept away. If it is right, we Greece-that visit which resulted in the we do not believe fifty men in the entire very in Federal Territories, according to understood allusion to an assumed Consti-the practice of our fathers who framed the tutional right of yours, to take slaves into Government under which we live. Not the Federal Territorries and to hold them by insist upon its extension—its enlarge.

Greeks—but at the same time told him to contemplated by a Northern mas, and one of all your various plans can show a there as property. But no such right is ment. All they ask, we could readily grant. come to her, it wounded as she alone never believed by an intelligent Southerner, if we thought Slavery right; all we ask. could cure him." Paris, as the reader of They sharl at the idea that all of our vast eral Territories? Upon this Douglas holds George Read, each twice, and Abraham gow sarring wishon of the reader of they could as readily grant, if they thought the affirmative, and Republicans the neg shift will be an any such right. We, on the contrary, deny it wrong. Their thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon that such a right has any existence in the sharing it would be an any such right has any existence in the thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon with the beautiful Helen, was wounded by trine that the slaveholder has not the an issue; and this issue—this question—is shown to have acted upon the question, against us, are based on Constitution, even by implication. Your which depends the whole controversy the arrows of l'hiloctetes and fled immeright to take his negroes into the Territopurpose, then, plainly stated, is, that you Thinking it right, as they do, they are not distely to Enoue, but she, jenlous of his ries. Yet, with all their growling, the will destroy the Government, unless you to blame for desiring its full recognition, love for Helen, refused to core him, and he whole wast public domain is, and of right, Constitution as you please, on all points we do, can welyield to them? Can we cast died. Too late she repented, and ever af ought to be, free, and the owner of human in dispute between you and us. You will one own votes with their vie , and against terwards bong over his body, bathed in slaves have no right, no natural, legal or rule or ruin in all events. This, plainly our own? In view of our moral, social, and stated, is your language to us. Perhaps political responsibilities, can we do this?

you will say the Supreme Coust has deci Wrong as we think Slavery is, we can yet artist. Emme is in deep and speechless one such beyond the limits of the States ded the disputed Constitutional question afford to let it alone where it is, because grief at the death of Paris. She sits upon where Slavery is recognized by local law. in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving that much it due to the necessity arising the ground, partly draped, her hands rest. Such is the true American doctrine, and the lawyers' distinction between dictum and decision, the Court have decided the question for you in a sort of way. The Court have substantially said, it is your Court have substantially said, it is your tories, and to overrun us here in these Free cation of silent heart felt anguish. The count, partly draped, her hands fest ing spon the turf to support her, while her ing spon the turf to support her, while her ing spon the turf to support her, while her ing spon the turf to support her, while her is allow it to spead into the National Term and method to the can we will 20,000,000 of people, living in the cation of silent heart felt anguish. The crement. true Union men to yield to Disuntonists. ploring men to unsay what Washington said, and sado what Washington did -- the great original. ened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to our. hen of the most interesting.

tion which framed the original Constitut the Federal Government to control as to as they acted upon it. This is all Republi | charging the blame upon us, you could get strument the slave is alluded to, he is the conclusion of his speech Mr. Lincoln that would actually do discredit to sa cans ask-all Republicans desire-in rela- an advantage of us in those elections. The called a "person;" and wherever his mas receeived the congratulations of a large loons. There is no public library, where number of his friends and the friends of the merchant, when the business hours are

.... Editorial Correspondence.

Sr. Louis, March 26, 1860 MERCANTILE LIBRARY AND ITS DEJECTS OF ART. The most interesting place in the city sociation, and the most interesting objects of them masterly, some of them good, and some of them indifferent. Some of them jostle along the side-walks-the hum of are accient, going back to the very earliest bistory of mankind, -- some are slightly anique, but the most very modern.

tended to. Indeed, such condemnation of which at least three times as many lives yours is shall be at once submitted to as a rod, a supposed suburb of Nineveh, the os seems to be an indispensable prerequisite-license, so to speak—among you to
be admitted or permitted to speak at all.
Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to consider whether this is sent state of this to pause, and to consider whether this is the time to pause, and to consider whether this is the time to pause.

Now, can you or not, be prevailed upon to pause, and to constitute the carriers of the earliest empires, that of the carriers of the carriers of the car original seat of the earliest empires, that of whose faces are wrinkled, whose step is of the sculptor's art, must have been fresh spell so preserves the hair, and causes it to tions, and then be patient long enough to indispensable concert of action cannot be to my ear, mutters through his teeah, from the chisel 30 or perhaps 40 centuries hear us deay or justify. You say we are attained. The slaves have no means of "stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, ago. It was sent to the Library Associaissue; and the burden of proof is upon free men, black or white, supply it. The you You produce your proof; and what explosive materials are everywhere in party has no exist-cels; but there neither are nor can be supright to keep it; but it was no more my own small blocks and carried across the desert. come to your section - gets no voice in your plied, the indispensable connecting trains than my vote is my own; and the threat of by the way of Aleppo, to Beyrout, and from thence shipped to this country. It is then in case we should, without change of tresses; and a part of it, at least, is true. tort my vote, can scarcely be distinguish delightfully interesting to look upon this puzzles us to know, unless they are the rude specimen of art. It represents a large man who is surrounded on all sides by A few words now to Republicans It is hieroglyphics, giving we have no doubt desirable that all parts of this great Con- his eventful history. The carving is rude, federacy shall be at peace, and in harmo- evidencing the first steps in civilization. was provided for smending it; and, as I very year You will then begin to dis- stances. The gunpowder plot of British cans do our part to have it so. Even It is about equal to the awkward specimens though much provoked, let us do nothing of the chisel found among the North Amer through passion and ill temper. Even ican Indians, and its only interest as a specimen of art, is its great antiquity .er their demands, and yield to them if, in Perhaps no specimen of the chisel dates our deliberate view of our duty, we possi- back so far into the past as this one. Its sions in these amendatory articles, and not fault is ours, but this brings you to where or so, will continue to occur as the natural can, what will satisfy them? Will they be Its letters and words and periods are the ble retains the symbol, but the minds to provides that "no person shall be depri your section for the benefit of ours, or for fears, or much hopes, for such an event, will against us, the Territories are scarcely ble retains the symbol, but the minds to ved of property without due process of any other object then our principle, and be alike disappointed. In the language of mentioned. Invasions and insurrections read it, had disappeared from the earth. law;" while Senator Douglas and his pe we with it, are sectional, and are justly Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, "it is are the rage now Will it satisfy them if, long before Moses led the children of Is tenth amendment, providing that the then, on the question of whether our prinpowers not granted by the Constitution, ciple, put in practice, would wrong your and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will not. We so know because we know and centuries before our Savior died for the rael from the land of bondage, and centuries

The next object of interest in the hall is size statue, of a sleeping woman, in mar of marble upon which her land rests, apvailing to convince them is the fact that into the very marble which composes the any attempt to disturb them These nat- pillow. In her left hand she carclessly ural and apparently adequate, means all holds a string of jewels and a cross. The failing, what will convince them? This, whole form is covered with light drapery, and join them in calling it right. And this so gauzy in its texture, that the "line of must be done thoroughly-done in acts as beauty," of the whole form is plainly visiwell as in words. Silence will not be tol ble. It is the perfection of woman's beau

ty, as well as the sculptor's art. There is be enacted and enforced, suppressing all de a world of genius in this beautiful creation thing prove a failure. You must get a clarations that slavery is wrong, whether made --nature's great masterpiece, a peefect female form, is almost eclipsed by the master touches of the chisel.

pull down our Free State constitutions .- The reader of Italian history or of Shel-The whole atmosphere must be disinfected ley will recollect the melancholy history of Beatrice Cinci. She was a young and beautiful woman who loved not wisely but too I am quite aware they do not state their well, "and was condemned to an ignomincase precisely in this way. Most of them jour death, and when the priest went to announce to her that she was to die in the about slavery." But we do let them alone morning, he found her peacefully and the part of Missourians, but from men re This is the moment seized upon by the ar tionary, destructive, or something of the ing against Slavery in this nation, which of doing, until we cease saying. I am also tist, and nobly has she embodied in the snarl, and snap at Black Republicanism, soft. What is conservatism? Is it not cast at least a million and a half votes - aware they have not, as yet, in terms, de- cold and pulseless marble, that which al-

head of a man, and not the long head of a and to many of them the visible circle

"CRnone." This is an earlier piece of Miss moment when to pounce upon the South, Hosmer's, and while there is not as much and give freedem to all the negroes, a to be admired as in her "Beatrice," still it thing that Northern men would, perhaps. is most beautiful. The history of this be less willing to have done than the Greeks. "Enone was a nymph of Mount would certainly redown to the injury of States? If our sense of duty forbid this, head is purely classic and the hair which then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly is full, is supported by a brilliant band | Nionea Carcuing .- The Evansville Enand effectively. Let us be diverted by none of the sophistical contrivances wherewith encircling the head. Similar to her Beat quirer considers nigger catching as meriwe are so industriously plied and belabored trice, the female form in this statue seems torious as catching white rogues. -contrivances such as graping for some to be almost faultless. It is of the purest We suppose it is a very fit business for

man such as a policy of "don't care" on There is also a life size statue of Web then they must serve their drivers, the a question about which all true men do ster, in American murble, and in civic cos- Staveocracy of the South, who look upon care-such as Union appeals, beserching tume by Verliegen, The face & heed is good Northern Democrats in much the same reversing the Divine rule, and calling, not but not easy, and the attitude is unpleas. light as they do on their dogs-both useful sinners, but the righteous to repontance -- saily tiresome. It is still, ungraceful, to catch niggers. such as invocations of Washington, im awkward, and does not do half justice to

Neither let us he standered from our duty | There are many other specimens of both leston, South Carolina. A correspondent by false accusations against us, nor fright the chisel and the brush, but we have spo-

over; the mechanic, when the day's work is ended, and the professional man, when relaxation from toil is required, can find repose and food for the mind. This ought not to be so, and a public library in Terre-Haute should be one of the first objects of

St. Louis awoke this morning from the repose of the Sabbath, full of renewed life and energy. The sound of the cars rat tling over the stony streets-the bustle and business and rush by which every one seems to dash up and down, over and along every street, tells that this western The first specimen of art which strikes city is, indeed, "wide awake."

PLANTER'S HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, &

March 27, 1860. One thing particularly will strike the stran ger in this city as rather odd-there are no old men here; that is, if gray hairs are the true evidences of age. There are many slow, and whose form is bent, but the moustache is black, the whiskers are black and the bair is black. What magician's retain the semblance of youth, let those dying men answer. Another peculiarity is the number of large men-men over six feet in their stockings. The beard is al most universally worn-worn, too, in all imaginary styles. Why the men in St Louis, as a general thing, are so large, remains of those who came West at an early day-the weak ones having been upable to endure the toils of a frontier life. and only the stalwart form and brawny muscle surviving. These having raised up families of children, their sons are the

photographs of the r fathers. We spoke, in a former letter, of the improvements going on in the city, and among them all, none is so imposing as the new "Northern" Hotel, now in an ad vanced stage of erection. When it is finished it will be altogether the most nongnificent structure in the city, if not in the entire West. Its front, which is of iron and stone, reaches from one street to another, and the building occupies almost one entire block. The architectural beauty of this building is unsurpressed by any in the city, and when completed, will be im posing upon a grand scale. By the way, speaking of this hotel, reminds us of a conversation which occurred at the table a few days ago, between two southern gentlemen, in relation to it.

Mr. A. says to Mr. B., "I have been look ing at the Southern Hotel. It will certainly be one of the most splendid buildings on the continent, and when it is completed I do hope it will be kept by a South ern man, in Southern style, and upon Southern principles. I do not want to see a Northern man have anything to do

Mr. B replied, "You know, Mr. A. that I am a Southern man-was born and raised and live in the South, but I tell you that you cannot find a Southern man o energy, industry and determination enough to take that hotel and start it .-As sure as it goes into the hands of a Southern man, so sure will the whole Northern man to take it, or it will fail as

rapidly as it is opered. A rather thought this might betrue, but at any rate he was opposed to a Northern man being the landlerd. Mr. A. however will be doomed to disappointment, for a Northern man will have to open that house, or the house will remain shut.

We see here, every day, evidences of pettish Southern feeling; not, however, on calmly asleep in her miserable cell."-- cently from the further South, and who are still residents there. They growl, and and seem to feel a kind of earthly contamination, because they are so pigh freedom There is but one criticism to this work and because St. Louis is so rapidly becomwoman, while the head is classically that treme. They go upon the principle that Northern men are all Abolitionists, and The next piece is by the same artist, her that Abelitionists are just waiting for the

middle ground between the right and the white marble, and while not so masterly as Northern Democrats to engage in. Some wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead the other, is equally as beautiful. have been engaged in worse business; and

IT A lively time is anticipated at Charof the Syracuse (N. Y.) Courier writes from Charleston that many of the citizens are

This time the prohibition became I to disconnect the prohibition, as having done so in general fairly by us in relation to this affair — to be found in the Constitution, our the because in their understanding, any property" even, in any connection of Federal control of slavery in the Territories seems and to have been directly before the Conventioning in their periors, become a Hickory tree.